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Interviews: 1,019 adults  
Dates: December 8-10, 2001

48 Male  
52 Female  
[109]

## FINAL

Study #6022  
NBC News/Wall Street Journal  
December 2001

**Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.**

**The margin of error for 1,019 interviews is  $\pm 3.1\%$**

*Unless otherwise noted by a "+", all previous data shown reflects responses among all adults.*

1. All in all, do you think that things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>9/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	<u>High</u> <u>9/01</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>7/92+</u>	
Right direction.....	70	72	43	47	52	45	72	14	[138]
Wrong track.....	15	11	39	39	32	36	11	71	
Mixed (VOL).....	12	11	14	11	11	15	11	9	
Not sure.....	3	6	4	3	5	4	6	6	
	<u>12/00</u>	<u>10/00+</u>	<u>9/00+</u>	<u>7/00+</u>	<u>6/00+</u>	<u>4/00+</u>			
	39	48	51	48	44	44			
	43	32	29	32	38	34			
	14	18	16	17	15	19			
	4	2	4	3	3	3			

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

- 2a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing as president?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>11/01</u>	<u>9/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	
Approve.....	85	88	82	50	56	57	[139]
Disapprove.....	11	7	12	35	30	22	
Not sure.....	4	5	6	15	14	21	

- 2b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	
Approve.....	63	50	51	52	[140]
Disapprove.....	25	38	33	27	
Not sure.....	12	12	16	21	

2c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	
Approve.....	82	50	63	53	[141]
Disapprove.....	12	32	26	20	
Not sure.....	6	18	11	27	

3. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>12/01</u> **	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	<u>12/00</u>	<u>10/00</u> +	<u>High</u> <u>9/98</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>10/90</u> +	
Approve.....	57	47	43	45	48	55	49	61	22	[142]
Disapprove.....	29	34	33	32	35	30	35	28	69	
Not sure.....	14	19	24	23	17	15	16	11	9	
		<u>9/00</u> +	<u>7/00</u> +	<u>6/00</u> +	<u>4/00</u> +	<u>3/00</u> +	<u>1/00</u>	<u>12/99</u>	<u>10/99</u>	
		46	46	43	42	43	48	45	42	
		41	42	46	44	40	36	42	45	
		13	12	11	14	17	16	13	13	
		<u>9/99</u>	<u>7/99</u>	<u>6/99</u>	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98</u> +	
		40	43	40	49	41	50	44	48	
		49	41	42	38	45	40	42	39	
		11	16	18	13	14	10	14	13	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

4. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and groups, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
<b>George W. Bush</b>							[143]
December 2001.....	54	26	9	6	5	-	
June 2001.....	30	23	16	15	15	1	
April 2001.....	36	22	15	13	14	-	
March 2001.....	38	24	14	12	11	1	
January 2001.....	25	25	18	13	17	2	
December 2000.....	23	25	16	13	22	1	
November 27, 2000.....	31	19	11	19	20	-	
Likely voters November 2000+.....	30	23	13	13	20	1	
Likely voters October 2000+.....	28	25	15	13	18	1	
September 2000+.....	23	26	15	15	19	2	
August 2000+.....	28	23	17	14	17	1	
<u>High</u>							
March 2001.....	38	24	14	12	11	1	
<u>Low</u>							
March 2000+.....	19	26	21	15	17	2	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.4 (cont'd)

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
<b>The Democratic Party</b>							<b>[144]</b>
December 2001 *.....	18	30	26	14	9	3	
June 2001.....	15	31	24	17	11	2	
March 2001.....	17	27	24	16	14	2	
January 2001.....	21	26	22	16	13	2	
December 2000.....	23	23	18	16	18	2	
October 2000+.....	20	27	20	15	16	2	
September 2000+.....	23	26	19	17	14	1	
August 2000+.....	21	26	23	16	13	1	
July 2000+.....	19	27	24	15	14	1	
June 2000+.....	15	32	23	15	13	2	
April 2000+.....	14	34	21	15	15	1	
<hr/>							
<i>High</i>							
January 2000.....	20	30	23	15	10	2	
<i>Low</i>							
December 1994.....	10	23	25	24	16	2	
<hr/>							
<b>Dick Cheney</b>							<b>[145]</b>
December 2001 *.....	36	27	23	3	6	5	
June 2001.....	26	22	22	14	11	5	
April 2001.....	31	21	22	10	9	7	
March 2001.....	30	26	22	8	6	8	
January 2001.....	23	26	26	9	7	9	
December 2000.....	23	26	22	10	11	8	
October 2000+.....	25	24	26	8	9	8	
September 2000+.....	17	26	22	12	8	15	
July 2000+.....	19	23	26	9	6	17	
March 1991+.....	27	33	15	4	2	19	
February 1991+.....	33	33	13	2	2	17	
<b>John Ashcroft</b>							<b>[146]</b>
December 2001 *.....	29	28	15	5	8	15	
March 2001.....	14	19	25	9	12	21	
January 2001.....	8	12	26	8	14	32	
<b>Donald Rumsfeld</b>							<b>[147]</b>
December 2001 *.....	30	26	16	4	3	21	
<b>Rudy Giuliani</b>							<b>[148]</b>
December 2001 *.....	61	23	9	1	1	5	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.4 (cont'd)

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
<b>The Republican Party</b>							<b>[149]</b>
December 2001 **.....	21	36	18	13	9	3	
June 2001.....	13	30	21	19	16	1	
March 2001.....	18	31	21	15	14	1	
January 2001.....	14	30	25	15	14	2	
December 2000.....	18	26	23	14	18	1	
October 2000+.....	14	29	25	16	14	2	
September 2000+.....	14	33	19	20	13	1	
August 2000+.....	19	27	23	14	15	2	
July 2000+.....	15	28	24	16	15	2	
June 2000+.....	9	30	28	16	15	2	
April 2000+.....	11	31	25	16	15	2	
<i>High</i>							
January 1995.....	17	33	25	13	9	3	
<i>Low</i>							
March 1999.....	1	22	23	19	23	2	
<b>Colin Powell</b>							<b>[150]</b>
December 2001 **.....	57	27	10	1	1	4	
April 2001.....	51	27	12	4	1	5	
March 2001.....	53	23	13	4	2	5	
January 2001.....	48	26	16	4	1	5	
April 1997.....	47	30	14	3	2	4	
August 1996+.....	30	35	20	5	3	7	
June 1996+.....	37	32	19	3	3	6	
May 1996+.....	35	30	19	5	3	8	
December 1995.....	28	33	24	5	4	6	
October 1995.....	21	33	28	6	2	10	
March 1991+.....	43	28	8	2	1	18	
February 1991+.....	46	22	8	2	1	21	
<b>Laura Bush</b>							<b>[151]</b>
December 2001 **.....	49	27	16	2	2	4	
March 2001.....	28	24	33	3	2	10	
January 2001.....	16	18	34	4	5	23	
July 2000+.....	13	14	28	4	4	37	
<b>Tom Ridge</b>							<b>[152]</b>
December 2001 **.....	11	20	24	4	2	39	
<b>Yasser Arafat</b>							<b>[153]</b>
December 2001 **.....	2	7	20	19	41	11	
<b>Tom Daschle **</b>							<b>[154]</b>
December 2001.....	11	23	27	7	6	26	
December 2000.....	3	7	17	5	4	64	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

- 5a. Now I'd like to read you a list of legislative priorities. Please tell me which ONE you feel is the most important priority for the President and Congress to address this year.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF TOP PRIORITY

	Q.5a Top Priority			Q.5a/b COMBINED Top/Second Priorities	
	12/01	6/01		12/01	6/01
Dealing with terrorism.....	36	NA		56	NA
Stimulating the economy.....	31	NA		59	NA
Preserving the Social Security system <sup>1</sup> .....	10	13		27	31
Reforming and improving education <sup>2</sup> .....	10	26		25	46
Building a missile defense system.....	3	3		8	8
Enacting a patients' bill of rights <sup>3</sup> .....	2	7	CONTINUE	6	15
All equally important (VOL).....	7	9	Skip to	7	10
None important (VOL).....	1	1	Q.6a	1	2
Not sure.....	-	1		1	2

[155-156]

<sup>1</sup> In June 2001, item was phrased, "Reforming the Social Security system."

<sup>2</sup> In June 2001, item was phrased, "Reforming the education system."

<sup>3</sup> In June 2001, item was phrased, "Passing a patients' bill of rights."

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOOSE A MOST IMPORTANT PRIORITY IN Q.5a.)**

- 5b. And which of these issues do you think should be the next priority for the President and Congress to address this year?

- 6a. What is your preference for the outcome of the November 2002 congressional elections--a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats? <sup>1</sup>

	12/01	12/99	10/99	7/99	6/99	4/99	3/99	10/98+	
Republican-controlled Congress.....	42	40	39	39	42	41	37	41	[157]
Democrat-controlled Congress.....	40	44	41	43	41	40	43	43	
Not sure <sup>2</sup> .....	18	16	20	18	17	19	20	16	
		9/98	7/98	6/98	4/98	2/98	1/98	12/97	
		40	41	39	37	41	40	41	
		39	40	40	41	37	42	37	
		21	19	21	22	22	18	22	
		9/97	7/97	4/97	1/96	12/95	10/94		
		41	45	44	41	42	44		
		39	39	38	38	41	38		
		20	16	18	21	17	18		

<sup>1</sup> In October 1994, the question referred to the 1994 congressional elections; the 1995 and 1996 survey dates referred to the 1996 congressional elections; the 1997 and 1998 dates refer to the 1998 congressional elections.

<sup>2</sup> The volunteered responses "both equal," "neither in control," or "doesn't matter," were reported separately; for purposes of comparative they are combined with "not sure."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

- 6b. In general, do you think it is better for the same political party to control both the Congress and the presidency, so they can work together more closely, or do you think it is better to have different political parties controlling the Congress and the presidency to prevent either one from going too far?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>12/99</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	
Better if same party controls Congress and the presidency.....	32	33	34	25	43	42	33	36	30	[158]
Better if different parties control Congress and the presidency.....	59	60	55	67	44	48	55	55	59	
Not sure.....	9	7	11	8	13	10	12	9	11	
		<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>4/92+</u>	<u>1/92+</u>	<u>10/92+</u>	<u>9/92+</u>	<u>8/92+</u>	
		33	30	37	32	28	39	40	43	
		56	58	51	61	62	47	46	44	
		11	12	12	7	10	14	14	13	
		<u>7/92+</u>	<u>4/92+</u>	<u>1/92+</u>	<u>10/91+</u>	<u>10/90+</u>	<u>1/90+</u>	<u>9/86+</u>		
		40	32	28	24	23	24	28		
		47	61	62	67	67	63	64		
		13	7	10	9	10	13	8		

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

- 6c. If the next election for Congress in your district were held between--a **Republican** who says we need to support the policies of George W. Bush, including aggressively pursuing the war against terrorism, reforming education, and stimulating the economy by cutting taxes for businesses and individuals, and a **Democrat** who says, while we must work with the president in pursuing the war against terrorism, we must take a different approach in stimulating the economy and help people who have been harmed by the economic downturn by extending unemployment benefits and improving health care and education, for whom would you vote--the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate?

Would vote for Republican.....	45	[159]
Would vote for Democrat.....	44	
Depends on the candidate (VOL)....	6	
Neither/other (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	4	

- 7a. I'm going to read you three statements about what some people say has been Congressional Republicans' approach to the domestic agenda since the September eleventh attacks. Please tell me with which one you agree most.

**Statement A:** Republicans in Congress are going too far in pushing the agenda of their party over the best interests of the country.

**Statement B:** Republicans in Congress are not going far enough and are compromising too easily on their party's principles.

**Statement C:** Republicans in Congress are striking the right balance to further the best interests of the country.

<b>Statement A</b> /going too far.....	20	[160]
<b>Statement B</b> /not going far enough.....	17	
<b>Statement C</b> /striking the right balance.....	52	
Combination/depends (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	8	

- 7b. I'm going to read you three statements about what some people say has been Congressional Democrats' approach to the domestic agenda since the September eleventh attacks. Please tell me with which one you agree most.

**Statement A:** Democrats in Congress are going too far in pushing the agenda of their party over the best interests of the country.

**Statement B:** Democrats in Congress are not going far enough and are compromising too easily on their party's principles.

**Statement C:** Democrats in Congress are striking the right balance to further the best interests of the country.

<b>Statement A</b> /going too far.....	21	<b>[161]</b>
<b>Statement B</b> /not going far enough.....	21	
<b>Statement C</b> /striking the right balance.....	47	
Combination/depends (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	8	

#### Changing subjects . . .

- 8a. Would you say that you totally support, mainly support, have mixed feelings about, or oppose the approach that President Bush and his administration are taking in the war on terrorism?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>10/01</u>	<u>9/20/01</u> <sup>1</sup>	
Totally support.....	62	79	67	<b>[162]</b>
Mainly support.....	19	8	18	
Have mixed feelings.....	15	10	8	
Oppose.....	3	3	2	
Not sure.....	1	-	5	

<sup>1</sup> In September 2001, this question was phrased, "President Bush and his administration have outlined a number of steps that they plan to take in the campaign against terrorism. Would you say that you totally support, mainly support, have mixed feelings about, or oppose the approach that President Bush and his administration are taking in the campaign against terrorism?"

- 8b. How much confidence do you have in the ability of the United States' intelligence agencies to anticipate future terrorist attacks--a great deal of confidence, quite a bit, just some, or very little confidence?

A great deal of confidence.....	17	<b>[163]</b>
Quite a bit of confidence.....	31	
Just some confidence.....	37	
Very little confidence.....	13	
Not sure.....	2	

9. How likely do you think it is that the United States will be the target of another major terrorist attack at home or overseas in the next few months--very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely?

Very likely.....	45	<b>[164]</b>
Somewhat likely.....	40	
Somewhat unlikely.....	10	
Very unlikely.....	3	
Not sure.....	2	

10. Do you think that mail in the United States today is very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe, or very unsafe?

Very safe.....	27	<b>[165]</b>
Somewhat safe.....	50	
Somewhat unsafe.....	15	
Very unsafe.....	7	
Not sure.....	1	

11. Do you think that a foreign terrorist group is or is not responsible for the anthrax attacks that have infected and killed some Americans?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>11/01</u> <sup>1</sup>	
Foreign group is responsible.....	41	47	<b>[166]</b>
Foreign group is not responsible.....	39	28	
Not sure.....	20	25	

<sup>1</sup> Previously, this question was phrased, "Do you think that a foreign terrorist group is or is not responsible for the anthrax attacks?"

- 12a. Do you think that airline travel in the United States today is safer, less safe, or about as safe as it was before September eleventh?

More safe.....	43	<b>[167]</b>
Less safe.....	12	
About as safe.....	44	
Not sure.....	1	

- 12b. Have you personally changed any travel or vacation plans because you have feared for your safety since the September eleventh attacks?

Yes, changed plans.....	15	<b>[168]</b>
No, have not changed plans.....	85	
Not sure.....	-	

13. Do you think that the United States will ever capture or kill international terrorist Osama Bin Laden, or not?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>9/01</u>	
Yes, will capture or kill.....	66	73	<b>[169]</b>
No, will never capture or kill.....	23	15	
Not sure.....	11	12	



14. Now I would like to mention several actions that might be taken in the war against terrorism, and for each one please tell me whether you think the U.S. should or should not take that action.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY SHOULD TAKE ACTION

	Should Take <u>Action</u>	Should Not Take <u>Action</u>	Depends (VOL)	Not Sure	
Take military action against terrorist cells in other countries, such as the Philippines, Somalia and the Sudan.....	64	23	6	7	[170]
Take military action against Iraq and Saddam Hussein if he continues to keep UN inspectors out of Iraq, even if it means that most of our current allies would not join us.....	61	28	5	6	[171]
Take military action to overthrow Saddam Hussein, even if it requires using a great number of American ground troops.....	57	31	6	6	[172]

15. I'm going to describe some ways in which Americans' behavior has changed as a result of the September eleventh terrorist attack and the war on terrorism. For each one, please tell me whether you think that this change is temporary and will return to normal after a while, or whether you think that it is a long-term change that will last for many years. \*\*

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY LONG-TERM CHANGE

	Temporary <u>Change</u>	Long-term <u>Change</u>	Not Changed (VOL)	Not Sure	
The country is more united.....	35	62	1	2	[173]
Americans are more patriotic.....	36	60	2	2	[177]
People are more willing to help others.....	42	53	2	3	[179]
People are being profiled or discriminated against because of their ethnic background.....	51	40	5	4	[176]
There is increased respect for people who work for the government.....	52	39	4	5	[178]
People have changed the way they live because of the threat of terrorism.....	59	35	4	2	[174]
The news media are paying more attention to important issues.....	55	32	8	5	[180]
There is more bipartisanship and cooperation in Congress.....	72	20	2	6	[175]

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

**Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about the economy, budget, and taxes.**

16. How satisfied are you with the state of the U.S. economy today--are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the state of the economy?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	<u>4/00+</u>	<u>10/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>High</u> <u>9/98</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>1/96</u>	
Very satisfied.....	5	18	29	23	26	27	31	31	3	[208]
Somewhat satisfied.....	47	57	52	53	54	55	55	55	37	
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	32	18	12	17	13	12	10	10	38	
Very dissatisfied.....	15	6	6	7	6	5	3	3	19	
Not sure.....	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	3	
			<u>12/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>3/97</u>	<u>12/96</u>			
			18	13	10	13	9			
			52	52	51	45	51			
			20	23	27	27	27			
			8	10	10	13	11			
			2	2	2	2	2			

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

17. Do you feel confident or not confident that life for our children's generation will be better than it has been for us?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>12/91+<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>10/90 +</u>	
Feel confident.....	49	25	41	44	50	[209]
Do not feel confident.....	42	68	52	51	45	
Not sure.....	9	7	7	5	5	

<sup>1</sup> In December 1991, question was phrased, "Do you feel very confident, fairly confident, or not at all confident that life for our children will be better than it has been for us?"

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

- 18a. Over the past twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>3/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Economy has gotten better.....	6	7	17	6	2	3	6	8	[210]
Economy has gotten worse.....	65	57	44	73	78	74	67	57	
Economy has stayed about the same.....	28	35	38	20	19	22	26	33	
Not sure.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	
		<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	
		9	11	8	3	3	6	11	
		64	54	64	73	72	57	37	
		26	35	27	23	24	35	51	
		1	-	1	1	1	2	1	
		<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>		
		11	12	12	12	15	18		
		36	30	30	29	34	23		
		52	56	56	57	49	57		
		1	2	2	2	2	2		

<sup>1</sup> Prior to April 2001, this question was phrased, "Over the past year..."

- 18b. During the next twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>10/98</u> <sup>+</sup>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>4/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	
Economy will get better.....	50	36	28	17	19	19	21	20	24	31	31	<b>[211]</b>
Economy will get worse.....	15	25	29	24	22	22	21	21	23	17	24	
Economy will stay about the same.....	32	34	37	54	53	57	52	54	50	46	40	
Not sure.....	3	5	6	5	6	2	6	5	3	6	5	
		<u>9/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	
		28	28	27	29	44	43	21	23	20	23	
		24	17	21	16	16	19	27	24	29	27	
		44	52	49	52	36	34	50	51	48	47	
		4	3	3	3	4	4	2	2	3	3	
		<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>					
		33	39	50	53	32	31					
		21	15	9	10	20	24					
		44	43	39	35	45	40					
		2	3	2	2	3	5					

<sup>1</sup> Prior to April 2001, this question was phrased, "During the next year..."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

19. How likely do you think it is that you or someone in your household will lose their job as a result of a recession in the next twelve months--extremely likely, very likely, just somewhat likely, or not that likely?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>9/91</u> <sup>1</sup>	
Extremely likely.....	8	8	<b>[212]</b>
Very likely.....	7	10	
Just somewhat likely.....	20	21	
Not that likely.....	64	58	
Not sure.....	1	3	

<sup>1</sup> In September 1991, this question was phrased, "How likely do you think it is that you or someone in your household will lose their job as a result of the recession..."

20. Who do you think has the better approach on how to get the country out of a recession--President Bush or the Democrats in Congress?

President Bush.....	46	<b>[213]</b>
The Democrats in Congress.....	25	
Both equally (VOL).....	13	
Not sure.....	16	

21. Which of the following legislative options designed to stimulate the economy and pull the country out of a recession, do you think would be more effective -- **Option A** increase unemployment benefits to support those without jobs and other economic benefits to encourage consumers to spend more, OR **Option B**: provide tax cuts to businesses to encourage them to invest and hire more employees?

<b>Option A</b> /spend on unemployment benefits....	29	<b>[214]</b>
<b>Option B</b> /provide tax cuts to businesses.....	59	
Neither (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	5	

22. It is now agreed that, because the United States is in a recession and at war, the country will be in a deficit for the next few years. Recognizing the fact that additional spending or tax cuts would add to the deficit, would you favor or oppose **(READ ITEM)? \***

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY FAVOR

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Depends (VOL)</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Providing tax cuts for middle- and low-income individuals....	80	16	2	2	<b>[220]</b>
Increasing spending on education.....	74	21	3	2	<b>[219]</b>
Increasing spending on defense.....	73	21	2	4	<b>[218]</b>
Increasing spending on health care.....	71	23	3	3	<b>[221]</b>
Increasing spending on an anti-terrorism package.....	67	23	4	6	<b>[216]</b>
Providing tax cuts to businesses.....	54	37	5	4	<b>[215]</b>
Providing tax cuts for upper-income individuals.....	23	70	4	3	<b>[217]</b>

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

23. A proposal has been made that would allow people to put a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes into personal retirement accounts that would be invested in stocks and bonds. Some people think that individuals would have more money for retirement if they were allowed to invest and manage some of their Social Security payroll taxes themselves. Others think that it is too risky and could leave some people without adequate money for retirement if the stock market were to decline in value significantly. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>4/98</u>	
Favor.....	46	44	43	52	<b>[222]</b>
Oppose.....	48	51	52	41	
Not sure.....	6	5	5	7	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

**NOTE: Q.24a-Q.24d are embargoed for use by the  
Wall Street Journal in January 2002**

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about the stock market.

24a. Please tell me whether the following statement applies to you personally: "I have at least five thousand dollars invested in mutual funds or stocks."

	<u>12/01</u>		<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	
Applies.....	49	<b>CONTINUE</b>	52	49	51	<b>[223]</b>
Does not apply.....	49	<b>Skip to Q.25</b>	46	49	45	
Not sure.....	2		2	2	4	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY HAVE AT LEAST FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS INVESTED IN Q.24a.)**

24b. How would you rate the risk of losing money in the stock market today compared with a year ago--would you say that it is much more risky, somewhat more risky, about as risky, somewhat less risky, or much less risky?

Much more risky.....	24	<b>[224]</b>
Somewhat more risky.....	29	
About as risky.....	31	
Somewhat less risky.....	11	
Much less risky.....	4	
Not sure.....	1	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY HAVE AT LEAST FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS INVESTED IN Q.24a.)**

24c. Compared with a year or two ago, when it comes to your ability to manage your investing activities today, how confident would you say you are--more confident, less confident, or as confident as you were a year ago? **(IF "MORE/LESS," ASK:)** And is that somewhat (more/less) confident or much (more/less) confident?

Much more confident.....	7	<b>[225]</b>
Somewhat more confident.....	13	
As confident.....	47	
Somewhat less confident.....	24	
Much less confident.....	8	
Not sure.....	1	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY HAVE AT LEAST FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS INVESTED IN Q.24a.)**

24d. Do you think that you will or will not turn to a professional for investing assistance in the coming year?

Yes, will turn to a professional.....	48	<b>[226]</b>
No, will not turn to a professional.....	50	
Not sure.....	2	

**NOTE: Q.24a-Q.24d are embargoed for use by the  
Wall Street Journal in January 2002**

Changing subjects again . . .

25. Do you approve or disapprove of the Bush administration's decision to detain people of Middle Eastern origin as possible links to terrorism without disclosing their identities while they are being questioned?

Approve.....	67	[227]
Disapprove.....	26	
Not sure.....	7	

26. During terrorist investigations in the United States, do you think that rules and regulations that apply to investigations of U.S. citizens and non-citizens should be the same, or do you think that a different set of rules is acceptable?

Rules should be the same.....	41	[228]
Different set of rules is acceptable.....	52	
Depends (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	4	

- 27a. Which of these two statements comes closer to your opinion on investigating terrorism?

**Statement A:** I worry that the United States will go too far in its investigation of terrorism and will infringe on people's civil liberties and rights.

**Statement B:** I worry that the United States will go too far in protecting people's rights and civil liberties and will not be aggressive enough in investigating terrorism.

<b>Statement A/</b> will go too far.....	33	[229]
<b>Statement B/</b> will not be aggressive enough.....	53	
Some of both (VOL).....	8	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

- 27b. Do you think that the FBI should be allowed to check gun-purchase records of people being questioned in a terrorist investigation, or do you think that this would violate the rights of people who haven't yet been charged? \*

FBI should be allowed to check records.....	88	[230]
Would violate rights.....	8	
Depends (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	2	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 27c. Now I'd like to ask you about some specific actions that the United States might take in its efforts to fight terrorism and increase security. For each item that I read, please tell me whether you think that the United States is going too far, striking the right balance, or not going far enough in its efforts to increase security.

\*\*

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY GOING TOO FAR

	Going Too Far	Striking The Right Balance	Not Going Far Enough	Not Sure	
Wiretapping conversations between detained suspects and their lawyers without a court order while guaranteeing that the information obtained will not be used in court.....	34	44	14	8	[232]
Detaining as many as six hundred people without charging them with a crime or releasing their names.....	32	47	13	8	[231]
Trying suspected terrorists in military tribunals, in which there is a limited appeals process and there are special rules that can allow evidence and witnesses to be kept secret from the public....	23	54	15	8	[235]
Interviewing as many as five thousand young men from Arab countries who are living in the United States legally to find out whether they have information about terrorist activities.....	16	63	17	4	[233]
Greater monitoring of the Internet and e-mail by federal authorities investigating terrorism.....	14	56	23	7	[234]

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 27d. I'm going to describe two approaches to trying suspected terrorists that are being discussed. Please tell me which approach you would be more likely to favor--(A) using military tribunals, in which there is a limited appeals process and there are special rules that can allow evidence and witnesses to be kept secret from the public, OR (B) using a courts martial process, in which there is an appeals process and the trial is open to the public. \*

(A) Military tribunals.....	49	[236]
(B) Courts martial process.....	41	
Neither/other (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	8	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

Changing subjects again, I'm going to ask you a few questions about the Middle East . . .

- 28a. Who do you think is more responsible for the outbreak of violence in the Middle East--the Israelis or the Palestinians?

	12/01	10/00	
Israelis more responsible.....	13	14	[237]
Palestinians more responsible.....	47	39	
Both equally (VOL).....	23	29	
Neither (VOL).....	1	1	
Not sure.....	16	17	

28b. Do you think it is or is not possible for the Israelis and Palestinians to achieve peace in the Middle East?

Is possible to achieve peace.....	36	[238]
Is not possible to achieve peace.....	54	
Depends (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	5	

Getting near the end of the survey, I'd like to ask you about the holiday season.

29. Do you plan to spend more money on holiday shopping this year than you did last year, less money, or about the same amount?

	<u>12/01</u>	<u>12/00</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>12/87</u>	<u>10/87</u>	
Plan to spend more money.....	11	15	14	9	6	10	16	11	[239]
Plan to spend less money.....	26	28	30	47	47	46	28	30	
Plan to spend about the same amount of money.....	62	56	53	43	46	44	55	58	
Not sure.....	1	1	3	1	1	-	1	1	

30. Has your place of employment done any of the following? <sup>1</sup>

Reduced year-end bonuses or Christmas gifts for employees.....	13	[240]
Cut down on holiday celebrations or parties.....	15	>
Donated money to charity in place of giving employees or clients gifts.....	15	
None.....	61	
Other (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

<sup>1</sup> Results shown reflect responses among those who say that they are currently employed (Q.F2).

**FACTUALS:** Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you live now, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes, registered.....	86	[241]
No, not registered.....	12	
Not sure.....	2	



F2. Are you currently employed?

**(IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:)** What type of work do you do?

**(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:)** Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

<u>Currently Employed</u>		
Professional/ manager.....	26	<b>[242-243]</b>
White-collar worker.....	23	
Blue-collar worker.....	19	
Farmer, rancher.....	1	
<u>Not Currently Employed</u>		
Student.....	1	
Homemaker.....	5	
Retired.....	20	
Unemployed, looking for work.....	4	
Other.....	-	
Not sure.....	1	

F3. Did you happen to vote in the 2000 presidential election? **(IF "YES," ASK:)** For whom did you vote -- George W. Bush, the Republican, Al Gore, the Democrat, Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate, or Pat Buchanan, the Reform Party candidate?

<b>Yes, Voted</b>		
Voted for George W. Bush.....	42	<b>[250]</b>
Voted for Al Gore.....	30	
Voted for Ralph Nader.....	2	
Voted for Pat Buchanan.....	-	
Voted for other candidate (VOL).....	1	
Not sure who voted for (VOL).....	-	
<b>No, Did Not Vote</b>		
No, was too young to vote (VOL).....	1	
<b>Not Sure/Refused</b> .....	5	

F4. How old are you? **(IF "REFUSED," ASK:)** Well, would you tell me which age group you belong to?

18-24.....	9	50-54.....	10	<b>[251-252]</b>
25-29.....	7	55-59.....	7	
30-34.....	10	60-64.....	6	
35-39.....	10	65-69.....	4	
40-44.....	12	70-74.....	6	
45-49.....	10	75 and over.....	7	
		Refused.....	2	

F5. What is the last grade that you completed in school?

Grade school.....	1	<b>[253-254]</b>
Some high school.....	5	
High school graduate.....	30	
Some college, no degree.....	19	
Vocational training/2-year college.....	8	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	20	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2 or 3 years postgraduate work/master's degree....	10	
Doctoral/law degree.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

- F6. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? (IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party, closer to the Republican Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent?

Strong Democrat.....	17	[255]
Not very strong Democrat.....	11	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	10	
Strictly independent.....	16	
Independent/lean Republican.....	9	
Not very strong Republican.....	9	
Strong Republican.....	20	
Other .....	4	
Not sure/nothing.....	4	

- F7. Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself to be liberal, moderate, or conservative?

Liberal.....	22	[256]
Moderate.....	40	
Conservative.....	31	
Not sure.....	7	

- F8. Are you currently single and never married, married, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Single.....	22	[257]
Married.....	58	
Separated.....	2	
Widowed.....	8	
Divorced.....	9	
Other (VOL).....	-	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

- F9a. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	45	CONTINUE	[258]
Catholic.....	33		
Jewish.....	3		
Muslim.....	1	Skip to	
Other.....	11	Q.F10	
None.....	4		
Not sure/refused.....	3		

**(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS IN Q.F9a.)**

- F9b. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Fundamentalist/evangelical.....	15	[259]
Neither fundamentalist nor evangelical.....	27	
Not sure.....	3	
Non-Protestants (Q.F9a).....	55	

F10. Are you a member of a labor union? (IF "NO," ASK:) Is anyone else in this household a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	12	[260]
Labor union household.....	6	
Non-union household.....	80	
Not sure.....	2	

F11a. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background?

Yes.....	9	[261]
No.....	90	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F11b. What is your race--white, black, Asian, or something else?

White.....	81	[262]
Black.....	10	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	1	
Hispanic (VOL).....	6	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F12. Finally, if you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than ten thousand dollars, between ten thousand dollars and twenty thousand dollars, between twenty thousand dollars and thirty thousand dollars, between thirty thousand dollars and forty thousand dollars, between forty thousand dollars and fifty thousand dollars, between fifty thousand dollars and seventy-five thousand dollars, between seventy-five thousand dollars and one hundred thousand dollars, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	4	[263]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	8	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	10	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	12	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	11	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	17	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000.....	11	
More than \$100,000.....	11	
Not sure/refused.....	16	